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THE MARXIST-LENINIST PATH OF OUR PARTY IN THE SOLUTION OF THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

On the Occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Law on the Land Reform

Twenty years has elapsed since the carrying out of the land reform, the first historic reform aimed at the solution of the agrarian question in our country, and two years has passed since the publication of Comrade Kim Il Sung's *"Theses on the socialist Agrarian Question in Our Country."*

The past twenty years is a period during which the Korean Communists have radically changed the look of our countryside by carrying out the democratic and the socialist revolution and by pushing forward the upbuilding of socialism.

The agrarian question posed as one of the keys to the triumph of revolution and social orogress and as a difficult and complex task in our country. In our country which had been a backward agrarian country held in bondage to the alien imperialists, the correct solution of the agrarian question alone would make it possible to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, promote the revolution, develop the national economy and push ahead vigorously with socialist cqnstruction.

Our Party has always directed great attention and efforts to the solution of the agrarian question and tackled it successfully at different stages of the revolution by deftly applying Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country.

Our countryside which suffered from ages-old backwardness has turned into an advanced socialist countryside. Our peasants who had been deprived of all rights and submerged in the depths of ignorance and poverty, have become proud masters of the countryside, cultured and learned socialist working people, and are enjoying a happy life.

It is only seven or eight years since socialism triumphed in the countryside, but in this period great progress has been made in the building of a socialist countryside. The face of the countryside is rapidly changing in all the technical, cultural and ideological domains, particularly after the publication of the *"Theses on the Socialist Agrarian Question in Our Country."*

With the lapse of time our countryside is developing into a rich and modern socialist one equipped more and more with the latest techniques.

In fact, the struggle of our Party over the past twenty years for the solution of the agrarian question has been a great revolutionary struggle for transforming society, for conquering nature and remoulding men. In its struggle for the solution of the agrarian question, our Party has scored a great victory and gained a store of valuable experience.

Today our people led by the Party are advancing with confidence along the road to the solution of the socialist agrarian question, a road illumined by the *"Theses on the Socialist Agrarian Question in Our Country."*

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN THE STAGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The correct solution of the peasant and agricultural questions is of great importance in the carrying out of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. In this stage the land problen is the keynote of the peasant and agricultural questions. The solution of the land problem in our country constituted the basic content of the democratic revolution, a cornerstone in the promotion of political, economic and social progress.

In this connection Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The feudal landownership prevailing in our countryside not only chained millions of peasants to feudal exploitation and slavery and arrested the development of the production forces in agriculture, but also impeded overall social progress. Hence, the solution of the land problem constituted the basic content of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution."

After the liberation our Party raised the solution of the land problem as the primary task of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

As a result of the prolonged colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, our country had remained a backward colonial, semi-feudal society until liberation. Farming was the chief occupation of our people, 80 per cent of the population being peasants. The system of exploitation of an imperialist, feudal pattern was predominant in the countryside, and the rural population was in the grip of double or treble oppression and plunder, deprived of all rights and groaning in the depths of poverty and obscurity. In the pre-liberation year of 1945, 58.3 per cent of the total area under cultivation was in the hands of the landlords who occupied only 4 per cent of the entire farm households, and the large landowners were mostly Japanese. Nearly 80 per cent of the rural population was sharecroppers and hired peasants who were either entirely landless or land-poor, and the economy of the rich farmers was very weak.

Without freeing the productive forces in agriculture from the fetters of feudal production relations, there could be no development of agriculture, nor rehabilitation and development of industry, nor the general advancement of the national economy and the building of an independent national economy.

Emancipation of the peasants from the oppression and exploitation of the landlords alone could heighten their political enthusiasm and zeal for production, could abolish the medieval backwardness in the rural areas and enhance the living standards of the peasants.

Only when the feudal landownership was abolished in the countryside could the landed class which constituted a major social foothold of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries, be liquidated and the bulwark of democracy in our countryside be fortified, and the alliance of the working class and the peasantry be further consolidated. Particularly, in view of the situation obtaining after the liberation when our country was divided into two by the U.S. imperialists and South Korea was turned into an assembly ground for the foreign and domestic reactionary forces who were making desperate attempts to put a spoke in the wheel of our revolution, a thoroughgoing accomplishment of the land revolution in North Korea was an essential requirement of the establishment and consolidation of the revolutionary, democratic base and of the vigorous promotion of the Korean revolution.

The Party and the people's government began with a struggle for reducing farm rents such as the introduction of the three-to-seven system of tenancy* (30 per cent of the total harvest to the landlord, 70 per cent to the tenant farmer), and waged a struggle for confiscating the farmlands of the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys. And when the conditions were ripe the historic Law on the Land Reform was proclaimed on March 5, 1946.

The most essential point in the Party's policy for the land reform was the solution of the question of ownership in conformity with the actual conditions in our country and the thoroughgoing execution of the reform.

Our Party solved the land problem on the principle of turning over the land to the ownership of the toiling peasantry.

Our country's arable land was

very limited and the overwhelming majority of the toiling peasants was landless and subjected to the cruel exploitation and oppression of landlords for a long time. Farmlands had been salable for a comparatively long time, the tradition of private ownership of land had been firmly established, and the peasants' attachment to the land was very strong. To work one's own land for oneself was a lifelong dream of our peasants.

The Party's policy of turning over the land to the ownership of the toiling peasants was the only correct policy meeting their strong yearnings for land and fitting the specific socio-economic conditions of our country.

Proceeding from the consideration that the land revolution would produce a far-reaching effect not only on the political and economic development of the country, but also on the final solution of the agrarian question in the future, our Party carried out the land reform in a most thoroughgoing manner. This found expression in the complete liquidation of the exploitation system of a feudal pattern on the principle of confiscation and distribution without compensation and in the strict restriction of land turning into a means of exploitation.

In the land reform the farmlands of the landlords who owned more than five *jongbo* (one *jongbo* equals approximately one hectare) and all the lands let out for continued tenancy, to say nothing of the lands owned by the Japanese state, Japanese individuals and Korean traitors to the nation, were confiscated and distributed among the hired peasants, landless and land-poor peasants without compensation. The system of tenancy, buying, selling and mortgaging of the distributed land were prohibited by law, and the size of privately-owned land was limited to five *jongbo*.

In view of the situation in which there were many middle and small landowners letting out their lands for tenancy, the feudal-type exploitation system could be abolished completely only by confiscating all the lands less than five *jongbo* let out for continued tenancy, not to speak of the farmlands of the landlords exceeding five *jongbo*.

And the limitation of the maximum size of the privately-owned land at five *jongbo* was motivated by the fact that in the conditions prevailing in our country at the time a peasant family usually could not work more than five *jongbo* of land by themselves. So, this measure was a reasonable step for checking the emergence of rich farmers in the countryside.

All these steps not only put an end to the feudal system in the countryside for good and totally wiped out the economic foundations of the reaction in the rural areas, but created vital conditions for facilitating the socialist reorganization of the rural economy in the following stage of the revolution.

To ensure victory in the land revolution it is of paramount importance to determine the objects and the motive force of the revolution correctly and reorganize forces properly.

Relying firmly on the hired peasants and poor peasants, our Party induced the peasants to carry out the land reform for themselves as masters of the rural areas and, in this course, gave them political and ideological trainings. It was seen to that the hired peasants and poor peasants became the pivot in the organization of the rural committees, that they played the leading role in the carrying out of the land reform and became its executors.

The land reform cannot triumph without the leadership and assistance of the working class. So, the Party dispatched large advanced contingents of the working class to the countryside to render active leadership and assistance to the peasantry in its struggle for the land reform. Along with this, the Party lined up all the democratic forces and led them to take part in the struggle for the land reform. In the course of the land reform the united front with the democratic political parties and social organizations was strengthened, and broad democratic forces were mobilized. Thus, the land reform was carried out in a nation-wide campaign indeed. The subversive and sabotaging manoeuvres of the reactionary element were crushed by the resolute functioning of the dictatorship of the people's government and by the heightened revolutionary spirit of the masses of the people.

All these measures taken by the Party proved a sure guarantee for the thoroughgoing implementation of the land reform in our country which involved a bitter class struggle.

Though the Party and the people's government had not been long in existence and the situation was complicated in our divided country after the liberation, our Party boldly set forth such a difficult task as land reform and carried it out triumphantly in no more than 20 days by rousing the peasantry and the entire people to action.

This was a success achieved through the intelligent leadership of our Party which believed firmly in the revolutionary stamina of the masses and relied on them, steeled the organizations and the masses through struggles and pushed ahead actively with the revolution.

As a result of the land reform, more than one million *jongbo* of land, or 53 per cent of the country's total area under plough and 95 per cent of the land worked by tenant farmers, was confiscated, of which over 981,000 *jongbo* was distributed without compensation among the hired peasants, landless and land-poor peasants who held more than 70 per cent of the total peasant households. Landlordism was liquidated for good and the system of tenancy was completely abolished.

Together with the land reform, a system of agricultural tax in kind was introduced. This freed the peasants from the high rate of tenant rents and all kinds of exacting levies imposed upon them in the years of Japanese imperialist rule.

The land reform brought about a successful solution for the peasant and agricultural questions in the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

Our peasantry became free and, together with the working class, was turned into the basic force in the building of a democratic independent state. And our countryside, once the base of the reaction, was converted into the base of democracy.

The land reform brought about in its wake a sharp increase in agricultural production and a marked improvement in the livelihood of the rural population.

In 1948 gross grain output rose by 40 per cent over 1946, the year of land reform, and topped the record harvest year under Japanese imperialist rule by 10.4 per cent.

As masters of the land, the peasants took an active part in the building of a democratic state through their widespread movements for increased farm production and for patriotic delivery of grain to the state. In the Patriotic War of Liberation against the American invaders they made great contributions to victory by waging a selfless struggle in defence of the Party and the people's government which had given them land and freedom, and for protecting their farmlands.

The land reform gave a big encouragement to the people in South Korea, particularly the peasantry, who came out against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and served as a beacon illumining their path ahead.

Our land reform which was the first of its kind to be carried out in Asia immensely inspired the peoples and peasants of the Eastern countries who were groaning under the colonial and feudal exploitation and oppression and exerted a great revolutionary influence upon them.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN THE STAGE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

I. The Socialist Co-operation of Agriculture is the Key to the Solution of the Agrarian Question in the Stage of the Socialist Revolution

The peasant and agricultural questions in the stage of the socialist revolution amount to emancipating the peasantry once and for all from every kind of exploitation and oppression and to completely freeing the agricultural productive forces from the fetters of the old production relations based on private ownership by liquidating the capitalist element in the countryside and reorganizing the private peasant economy into a socialist collective economy.

The land reform was an event of great historic significance, which was aimed at abolishing feudal landownership in the countryside so as to emancipate the peasantry from exploitation and enslavement by the landlords and free the agricultural productive forces from the fetters of the feudal production relations. However, the land reform is no more than an initial step towards the solution of the agrarian question.

So long as small commodity production prevails in the countryside, it is impossible completely to free the productive forces in agriculture, eliminate the source of exploitation and poverty and radically improve the livelihood of the peasants.

Socialist industry developing apace according to plans is bound to clash, at a definite stage, with agriculture which is based on small commodity production.

Therefore, the reorganization of the private peasant economy into a socialist collective economy along co-operative lines is a lawful requirement of the revolutionary development and is a basic task of the period of transition to socialism.

The point is to launch out on the co-operation of the small peasant economy and push ahead with it vigorously by seizing upon the most appropriate and ripe period for it on the basis of taking to account the subjective and objective conditions. If we set about agricultural co-operation impetuously before the conditions are ripe, or, on the contrary, fail to start on it in spite of the existence of matured conditions, it will produce a negative effect on the worker-peasant alliance and arrest the development of the productive forces in agriculture.

The Party set out to make preparations for the socialist transformation of agriculture already when the period of transition began following the fulfilment of the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. But the socio-economic and material conditions for socialist transformation were not yet sufficiently ripe before the war. After the war the Party reckoned that it was high time to launch out on agricultural co-operation in our country.

Thus the question of the socialist co-operation of agriculture came to the fore in the postwar period as an implacable requirement of social development in North Korea and as an urgent demand of the Korean revolution which called for the political and economic consolidation of the democratic base.

The war had seriously damaged the material and productive foundations of agriculture and resulted in a great shortage of labour force and draught animals in the countryside. Under these cir-

cumstances, all the limited character of the private peasant economy based on small commodity production became ever more pronounced.

So long as the private peasant economy was left as it was, speedy recovery from the war damage was impossible, nor was it possible to rapidly rehabilitate and develop the agricultural productive forces in a planned way. This would have greatly impeded the rapid rehabilitation and development of industry and, further, the development of the national economy as a whole. The contradictions between socialist industry and the private peasant economy threatened to manifest themselves in the form of imbalance between industry which was in the process of rapid restoration and development and the rural economy which was being rehabilitated very slowly in the post-war period.

Owing to the war, the livelihood of our peasants was deteriorated in general and the proportion of poor peasants rose to 40 per cent. If we were to rely on the private peasant economy based on small commodity production which engenders capitalism at all times — the private peasant economy whose foundations of farming had been weakened and whose limited character was becoming conspicuous, at that—we could not hope to rapidly stabilize and improve the deteriorated livelihood of the peasantry, and, in particular, could hardly solve the question of poor peasants.

Only through agricultural co-operation, could we continue to develop the agricultural productive forces, keep balance between industry and agriculture, steadily improve the livelihood of the peasants and completely solve the question of poor peasants.

And only by eliminating the foothold of the reactionary forces in the countryside through the co-operative transformation of agriculture, could we cement the worker-peasant alliance, further strengthen the Party's bulwark in the rural areas and fortify the revolutionary base in North Korea as firm as rock.

In the situation prevailing in our country after the war, agricultural co-operation along socialist lines posed itself as a burning question whose solution brooked no further delay: it was a demand raised by life itself in which the peasants, through their experience of hardships, came to the realization that they could not live in the old ways any longer, and beg on to seek for a new pattern of life.

Our country at the time had sufficient conditions for co-operation.

The socialist economic sector which was predominant in the national economy ever since the early days of the liberation exerted a great influence on the private peasant economy and, in particular, the rapid development of state-owned industry provided the material foundations for giving powerful assistance to the co-operative movement.

During the war, the socialist economic element in the countryside such as state agro-stock farms, farm-machine hire stations and the like grew in a big way and various forms of co-operative labour which had time-honoured traditions were popularized extensively among the peasants.

The balance of force between the classes in the country were decisively favourable to the socialist transformation.

In the postwar period the forces opposing the socialist transformation were weak in our country, while the masses of the working peasants were politically awakened and steeled in the long-drawn revolutionary struggle and through the ordeals of the severe war, and their strength increased further. The most important guarantee of success in the socialist transformation was the fact that the Party had high prestige in the eyes of the masses of the people, that the people of all walks of life rallied around the Party and the political awakening of the masses increased.

Proceeding from this, as an immediate task our Party put forward agricultural co-operation, at the Sixth Plenum of its Central Committee in August 1953, that is, right after the truce, and actively pushed ahead with the co-operative movement as the enthusiasm of the peasants rose higher.

In the carrying out of the socialist co-operation of agriculture, our Party gained a new experience in the agricultural co-operative movement by correctly solving the question of relations between the socialist transformation of the economic form and technical reconstruction.

In our country the agricultural co-operative movement was launched under conditions of comparatively low levels of the productive forces and technical development.

Needless to say, complete victory of socialism cannot be achieved unless industrialization is accomplished and all branches of the national economy including agriculture are equipped with new techniques. Yet, even the co-operative farming based on primitive techniques can display undisputed superiority over the small-scale, scattered private peasant economy.

Lenin said that even joint economy that merely pools the land and farm implements of the peasants can achieve an economic improvement that is impossible in the individual small peasant economy, and that the transition from the scattered private peasant economy to joint economy will raise labour productivity two- or three-fold and save half to two-thirds in manpower.

In our country where farming was fragmented and labour and draught animals were scarce, even a co-operative farming based on primitive techniques could use the means of production and labour in a planned and organized way and further raise productivity by giving full scope to the advantages of mutual co-operation.

So, the Party did not wait till industry advanced far enough to mass-produce modern farm machines, but carried out the transformation of the economic form first and thus opened a wide avenue for the rapid development of the agricultural productive forces, and especially for the technical revolution.

Our Party, while giving precedence to the transformation of the economic form, steadily pushed ahead with the technical reconstruction. Though we were short of modern farm machines at the outset, we went about co-operation, undertaking irrigation projects, which were of primary importance in the technical reconstruction of our countryside, to supply water to the fields.

There were people who were of the opinion: "Socialist transformation of production relations is impossible without accomplishing socialist industrialization" or "It is impossible to carry out agricultural co-operation without modern farm machines." But our realities shattered their views to smithereens.

If we had failed to give precedence to agricultural co-operation over socialist industrialization and mechanization of agriculture, missing the opportunity when all conditions were ripe for it, we would have been unable to rapidly rehabilitate and develop the rural economy dilapidated severely by the war, and this, in the long run, would have greatly retarded the development of industry and the national economy as a whole.

Our experience has shown that agricultural co-operation is fully possible even when there exist few modern farm machines, if only life calls urgently for the reorganization of the outmoded production relations, and there exists the revolutionary force capable of tackling it, and that even the co-operative economy organized in this way can display the decisive superiority over the private peasant economy.

2. Object Lessons and Voluntary Principle in Agricultural Co-operation, and Active Leadership and Support by the Party and the State

We completed the socialist co-operation of agriculture with success in only 4-5 years after the war on the strength of object lessons, by adhering to the voluntary principle and relying upon the active leadership and assistance by the Party and the state.

For the working class to lead the peasantry along the road of socialism, it is necessary to educate the peasantry by object lessons and thereby induce it to take the road of co-operation voluntarily, and the Party and the state should give active leadership and assistance in it.

Our Party pushed forward the co-operative movement by strictly adhering to the voluntary principle and bringing the peasantry to realize the advantages of the co-operative economy by the force of practical examples.

Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"In waging any revolutionary struggle and in carrying out construction work it is of course necessary to study and assimilate the experience of other countries, but the most important thing is one's own experience."

Only by drawing on one's own experience, can he persuade the farmers and find the right road of co-operation fitting the actual conditions of the country.

At the initial stage, our Party organized several co-operative farms on an experimental basis in every county with poor peasants and rural activists of the Party, and strengthened them, thereby demonstrating the advantages of co-operative farming by object lessons and, in this course, brought the broad masses of the peasants, especially the middle peasants, to join co-operative farms voluntarily. Thus, a correct solution was provided to the problem of middle peasants, which had strategic importance in agricultural co-operation, and the triumphant advance of the agricultural co-operative movement was ensured.

The institution of the experimental stage made it possible for us to show the peasants the advantages of co-operation in practice, and correctly determine the forms and sizes of co-operative farms and the speed of co-operation commensurate with the actual conditions of our country, and furnished us with experience and confidence to push forward this movement triumphantly.

In deciding on the form of a co-operative farm, different needs of the peasants of all strata which vary with their socio-economic positions and levels of consciousness, their traditions and customs must be taken into account so that as many peasants as possible can accept it readily.

When co-operation was started, the land was owned privately by the peasants, and their economic positions and ideological preparedness were varied. Proceeding from this situation in our countryside, the Party laid down three forms of co-operative farming—the permanent mutual-aid team and the semi-socialist form, both transitional forms, and the fully socialist form—and guidance was given so that the form of a co-operative farm might be chosen in accordance with its specific conditions.

We saw that the draught animals and farm implements of the peasants were pooled not mechanically but if the owners so desired, or that they were used commonly while they were allowed to remain private property for a certain period, and in case they were pooled, due prices were paid without fail.

This induced the peasants, especially the middle peasants, to accept co-operative farming readily and made it possible to prevent deviations which might have possibly appeared in the course of co-operation.

In organizing co-operative farms, our Party strictly guarded against either the tendency towards hastily adopting the higher form without taking into account the preparedness of the peasants or the tendency towards mechanical advance from the lower form to the higher step by step.

In our country where not only the size of land owned by each peasant was small and was more or less the same, but their revolutionary spirit and political awak-

ening were high, the fully socialist form was predominant from the outset and it ruled supreme upon the completion of agricultural co-operation.

Taking into consideration the level of the productive forces in agriculture, the preparedness of the management personnel and the degrees of consolidation of co-operative farms, our Party correctly laid down the sizes of co-operative farms.

Guarding against the tendency towards organizing co-operative farms on too big a scale from the first without reckoning the existing conditions, the Party saw that the co-operative farms developed gradually in their sizes, from small to large.

In the early stage of co-operation when experience in the management of co-operative farms was poor, the abilities of the management personnel and the peasants' consciousness were at a low level and agriculture was suffering from technical lag, the co-operative farms were organized on a small scale to comprise 10-20 households each, and in course of time their size was gradually extended to 40-100 households.

Toward the end of October 1958 —when co-operation had been completed, the co-operative farms had been further consolidated politically and economically, the abilities of the management personnel had improved, and the tasks of the technical and cultural revolutions had come to the fore in the countryside—the Party carried out the merger of co-operative farms. One co-operative farm was established for each *ri*, the administrative terminal in our country.

As a result, our co-operative farms became more developed and solid socialist units of farming each taking in 500 *jongbo* of land and 300 households on the average, and acquired greater possibilities for accelerating the development of the agricultural productive forces and particularly the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

Life confirmed the absolute correctness of this way of solving the problem of the scale of the co-operative economy. If an excessively small size of the co-operative economy is continuously maintained regardless of the changed conditions it would inevitably impede the growth of the agricultural productive forces and, on the other hand, adoption of an excessively big size without taking into account the subjective and objective conditions would spoil the significance of the co-operative ownership and hamper the development of the co-operative economy.

In drawing the peasants into the co-operative economy on a voluntary basis, our Party consistently held to its correct class policy.

In the early days of the co-operative transformation after the war, in our countryside the poor peasants accounted for about 40 per cent and the middle peasants making up the remaining some 60 per cent were, with the exception of some well-to-do ones, in much the same situation as the poor peasants in the economic and living conditions. And the majority of the middle peasants was newly emerged ones who were benefited by the Land Reform. On the contrary the rich peasants accounted for no more than 0.6 per cent and their economic foundation was very insignificant at that.

Proceeding from such relations between class forces in our countryside, the Party pursued a class policy of relying firmly on the poor peasants, strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants and restricting and remoulding the rich peasants in carrying out agricultural co-operation.

Measures were taken to enable the poor peasants to play the nuclear role in all co-operative farms, prevent the formation of the co-operative economy with relatively well-to-do peasants only, and keep the co-operative economy free from any influence of the rich peasants. On the other hand, we strictly guarded against the tendency of drawing the middle peasants by force into the co-operative economy and encroaching upon their interests which thus would weaken the alliance with them.

The Party, while strictly restricting the rich peasants' practice of exploitation, took measures for remoulding them according as the co-operative movement developed. Our reality showed that in the socialist transformation of agriculture the method of remoulding, instead of dispossession, can be applied even to the rich peasants according to the conditions.

To abide by the voluntary principle in the agricultural co-operative movement does not mean it can be left at the mercy of spontaneity. Without the leadership and assistance by Party and state of the working class, the system of co-operative economy can neither emerge in the countryside nor grow stronger and develop.

For the establishment, development and consolidation of the co-operative economy, our Party and state gave a powerful leadership and aid to the peasants.

Unfolding the co-operative movement, the Party, first of all, gave precedence to the ideological arming of the peasants by intensifying the class education among them and paid primary attention to the political and organizational work such as the reinforcement of the Party forces in the countryside, the establishment of socialist system and order in the co-operative economy, the proper selection and appointment of the management personnel and the training of the management and technical personnel.

At the same time, even under the difficult conditions in the period of the postwar rehabilitation when all things—funds, materials and labour—were short, the Party saw to it that an enormous amount of state's investment was made in the rural economy and in the industries directly related to it, and gave huge material and financial aid to the co-operative farms and peasants. And assistance in the form of lending a helping hand was given on a large scale so as to increase the political, ideological and cultural influence of the working class in the countryside and solve the problem of the strained labour power.

The active leadership and assistance given by the Party and the state played a decisive role in bolstering up the co-operative economy which, organized exclusively with the poor peasants, was weak in its early days and enabling it to display its superiority over the private economy as well as in consolidating economically the co-operative farms which had speedily grown numerically.

Wise leadership of the Party, high revolutionary zeal of the masses of peasants, and the political and economic consolidation of the organized co-operative economy—these provided the sure guarantee of the successful completion of agricultural co-operation in our country.

The completion of agricultural co-operation marked a great event of historic significance in the development of the revolution and in the socio-economic development in our country.

As a result of agricultural co-operation, all sources of exploitation, poverty, backwardness in the countryside were liquidated once and for all, the agricultural productive forces were emancipated completely from the fetters of the old production relations, and a broad vista was opened for the development of the productive forces and the improvement of the peasants' livelihood.

Agricultural production has rapidly grown on the basis of the advantages of the co-operative economy and its ever strengthening material and technical foundation.

The economic base of the co-operative economy has steadily been consolidated and the life of the peasants has improved year after year. The co-operative farmers' earnings in 1958 showed an increase of 46 per cent in grain, 160 per cent in potatoes and 264 per cent in cash over the year 1955.

In consequence, the problem of the poor peasants, which was presented as an acute problem after the war, was solved completely, and North Korea, which traditionally was absolutely short of food, came to enjoy self-sufficiency in food.

The victory of the co-operative transformation created a socio-economic prerequisite for the proportionate development of industry and agriculture, and opened a phase decisively favourable for the acceleration of the industrialization and the development of the national economy as a whole.

Agricultural co-operation accelerated the transformation of the private trade and industry, thereby tending to the all-round victory of the socialist system in urban and rural areas of our country.

The worker-peasant alliance, the political base of our society, has been consolidated and the bulwark of socialism in the countryside and the revolutionary base in the North have been firmly cemented on the basis of the socialist system that gained all-round triumph in town and country.

The Chollima movement and the great upsurge in socialist construction in our country were initiated on the basis of the socialist system that won a decisive victory in town and country.

These facts show that agricultural co-operation marks a decisive step forward in the solution of the agrarian question and in the revolutionary development as a whole.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION UNDER SOCIALISM

I. The Essence of the Socialist Agrarian Question

The completion of agricultural co-operation does not imply the final solution of the agrarian question. Even after the completion of agricultural co-operation, the differences between towns and the countryside and the class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, persist and, in consequence, the peasant and agricultural questions continue to remain unsolved.

The socialist agrarian question is an important component of the building of socialism and communism.

Building of socialism and then the transition to communism in the future require development of the productive forces to a high level and elimination of the distinctions between towns and the countryside, as well as between mental and physical labour. For this purpose, it is necessary, first of all, to develop the towns and industry. However, no matter how much developed towns and industry may be, there can be no successful building of socialism, nor realization of communism, so far as the rural areas are left in a backward state. The agricultural productive forces must achieve a high development, production relations in the countryside must be steadily perfected, and the technical, cultural and ideological level of the peasantry raised to that of the working class, so that a correct solution may be provided to the agrarian question. Only when this is done, socialism and communism can be built.

The socialist agrarian question is a complex and difficult task which can be solved fully only through a protracted and unremitting struggle and efforts.

Liquidating the exploiting class and transforming outmoded production relations in the countryside are, of course, a hard job. But to consolidate and develop the triumphant socialist system, to free the peasantry from laborious toil and from ideological and cultural backwardness and to obliterate the differences between towns and the countryside, are a task which calls for a creative approach and whose solution takes a still longer time.

In the "*Theses on the Socialist*

Agrarian Question in Our Country," Comrade Kim Il Sung gave a scientifically-substantiated elucidation to the content of the agrarian question under socialism and indicated a correct way of its solution. The Theses is a programmatic document illumining the way to the final solution of the agrarian question, which was worked out on the basis of a comprehensive survey of the successes and experiences gained in the course of building a socialist countryside in our country and creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

Under socialism the agrarian question presents itself in a fundamentally different light from that in preceding periods.

Until the stage of socialist revolution, the revolutionary transformation of production relations in the countryside was the central question, but under socialism where this task has already been fulfilled, gradual obliteration of the differences between towns and the countryside on the basis of continuous strengthening of the socialist system established in the countryside, represents the central question.

In this connection Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out:

"Under socialism the peasant and agricultural questions boil down to developing the productive forces of agriculture to a high level, making the life of the peasants a bountiful one, abolishing the backwardness of the countryside left over by the exploiter society, and gradually obliterating the distinctions between town and country on the basis of the continuous strengthening of the socialist system established in the countryside."

The socialist agrarian question amounts to remoulding the peasantry into the working class through a strengthened leadership of the working class, to industrializing agriculture through increased assistance of industry, to converting the co-operative ownership into the ownership by the whole people through an enhanced leading role of the state ownership, and bringing the rural communities up to the level of the towns through a strengthened support from the latter.

The socialist agrarian question is not merely a technical and economic question. It is the question of consolidating the material and technical foundations of the rural economy and, at the same time, is a socio-economic question of liquidating the legacies of the old society and creating new things in all spheres of technical, cultural and ideological life in the countryside. It also represents a political and strategic question of firmly building up the basic motive power of revolution and promoting the building of socialism and communism.

Proceeding from the essence of the socialist agrarian question, our Party has taken and carried out measures for solving problems in a Marxist-Leninist way in all spheres of politics, economy, ideology and culture. The Party has gained a store of experiences in the building of a socialist countryside, which will serve as a valuable asset for us.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, basing himself upon those experiences, elucidated the basic principles of solution of the socialist agrarian question as follows:

"First, the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions should be thoroughly carried out in the rural areas;

Second, the leadership of the working class over the peasantry, the assistance of industry to agriculture and the support of towns to the countryside should be strengthened in every way;

Third, the guidance and management of the rural economy should steadily be brought closer to the advanced level of management of industrial enterprises, the bonds between ownership by the whole people and co-operative ownership should be strengthened, and co-operative ownership should be steadily brought closer to ownership by the whole people."

This basic principle for the solution of the socialist agrarian question stems from the Marxist-Leninist principle which calls for unremittingly pushing forward and carrying the revolution through to the end in the countryside, and enhancing the leading role of the working class in all spheres.

The idea of uninterrupted revolution and the idea of remoulding the peasantry into the working class by raising the leading role of the working class—this is the main idea running through Comrade Kim Il Sung's *"Theses on the Socialist Agrarian Question in Our Country."*

2. The Ideological, Technical and Cultural Revolutions in the Socialist Countryside

In order to accelerate socialist rural construction, our Party has been carrying through the principle of giving precedence to the ideological revolution in the countryside and, in parallel with this, of energetically promoting the technical and cultural revolutions.

The policy of pushing ahead vigorously with the revolution in the countryside after the triumph of socialism embodies our Party's determined stand of proceeding continuously with the revolution.

Our Party has carried forward the revolution without interruption in order to solve the agrarian question, regarding all victories and successes gained in the revolution as the basis for a fresh victory, and for the final victory, in the revolution.

The task of the Party after the completion of agricultural co-operation is to obliterate the distinctions between towns and the countryside and continuously push forward the revolution in order to lead the peasantry to communism.

Referring to this, Comrade Kim Il Sung said as follows:

"Should the revolution be called off because socialist co-operation has been achieved, the peasants' enthusiasm heightened through the democratic and socialist revolutions cannot be kept up and further increased. Without continuing the revolution in the countryside the socialist system of agriculture cannot be consolidated and developed, nor can its advantages be brought into play, nor the distinctions between town and country be eliminated."

What is most important for the building of socialism and communism is to bring to light the distinctions between town and country in full, and, especially, get at their root, and correctly determine the content of the revolution to be continued.

Comrade Kim Il Sung has elucidated that the distinctions between town and country are ascribable to the lag of the country side behind towns in the technical, cultural and ideological spheres and the resultant distinctions in the form of ownership and the level of economic management, and has defined that the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions were the central revolutionary tasks for eliminating the distinctions between town and country.

The exploiter society left over technical backwardness in the rural economy and gave rise to the ideological and cultural backwardness of the peasants. Precisely due to this backwardness, there remain the distinctions in the form of ownership and the level of economic management and class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry. Therefore, in order to eliminate such distinctions, their sources must be removed first of all by carrying out the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the rural areas.

The technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside have different missions and meanings respectively. But they form an integral whole, linked with each other and interacting between them.

In a socialist countryside, therefore, these three revolutions must be carried out in a unified process, linked closely with each other. It is wrong to put stress on the technical and cultural revolutions alone, while neglecting the ideological revolution, and vice versa.

The ideological revolution is the most important and difficult revolutionary task that must be kept ahead of all other work.

The class struggle continues in the countryside even after the completion of agricultural co-operation. One can come off victorious in the class struggle which goes on continuously in the countryside, only by giving precedence to the ideological revolution. The class struggle in the countryside finds expression in the struggle for crushing the subversive machinations of the hostile elements infiltrating from outside and the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes, and also in the ideological struggle against the survivals of outmoded ideology in the minds of the peasants. Unless the class awakening of the peasants is raised and ideological work is strengthened among them, the socialist countryside cannot be defended like an impregnable fortress, nor can be consolidated further.

Only by giving precedence to the ideological revolution, is it possible to enhance the level of the peasants' political consciousness and bring into full play the inherent superiority of the socialist system under which the working people co-operate with each other in a comradely way and do their work consciously.

The residue of outmoded concepts and traditions persists tenaciously in the minds of the peasants, because they lived within the bounds of the isolated, scattered small peasant economy for a long time. At the same time, agriculture, unlike industry, is such that living things are dealt with, work is scattered and its results cannot be judged correctly at once. The level of mechanization in agriculture is low, and even when mechanized, a good deal of manual labour is required. A farm village is a unit of production and, at the same time, a unit of life. Such characteristics of agricultural production and peasant life make it all the more imperative to strengthen the ideological work in the countryside.

When the ideological work in a socialist countryside is slackened, residue of outmoded idea may revive in the minds of the peasants and the class awakening of the younger generations that know no ordeals of revolution may become dull.

Our Party has always placed political work before all other work among the peasants, and ever since the incipient stage of agricultural co-operation, energetically conducted communist education among them with class education as its main content, thereby bringing about a great change in their way of thinking.

The aim of building socialism and communism is, in the final analysis, to ensure a bountiful and cultured life to the entire people by developing technique and culture. There will be neither a high development of the agricultural productive forces, nor emancipation of the peasantry from laborious toil, nor improvement in their material and cultural standards, unless the technical and cultural revolutions are carried out in the countryside.

While carrying on agricultural co-operation, our Party lost no time to embark upon the technical revolution, and persistently pushed ahead with the cultural revolution.

In carrying out the technical revolution in the countryside, our Party took account of the specific conditions of our country and, on this basis, set about the irrigation programme first, simultaneously promoting mechanization, electrification and chemicalization energetically. It is essential to carry out the tasks of irrigation, mechanization, electrification and chemicalization in order to overcome drought and floods, relieve the peasants of their burdens of labour-consuming work, enhance labour productivity and secure high and stable harvest yields.

The technical revolution in our countryside was tackled in real earnest during the great upsurge in our socialist construction, particularly as the foundations of an independent national economy were being built and strengthened. It was pushed forward at an extraordinarily rapid tempo in a mass campaign.

The historic task of the irrigation programme has already been carried out in the main. The networks of irrigation channels have

been spread over the whole country; it has become possible to avoid natural disasters in the main, and the solid foundations have been laid for agricultural production free from crop failure.

Great successes have been achieved in mechanization, electrification and chemicalization, too. In 1958 when agricultural co-operation was completed, there was 0.14 tractor (in terms of 15 h.p. unit) per 100 *jongbo* of land in our countryside. But the figure rose to 1.03 in 1965. Electricity is supplied to 95.5 per cent of the entire farm villages and to 81 per cent of the entire farm houses. The amount of chemical fertilizer applied to each *jongbo* increased systematically to reach 300 kilogrammes in 1964.

A big headway has also been made in the cultural revolution.

All the young people in our rural areas have acquired general knowledge by seven-year schooling. Thanks to the extensive establishment of technical schools in the countryside, large numbers of farm youth and children are receiving technical education. The number of technicians and specialists to each 1,000 co-operative farmers was 17 in 1965. The level of general knowledge of the peasants, as well as their technical and cultural level, is rising quickly. Every village is being built up into a modern socialist village, cultured, full of life and comfortable to live in.

The continued rapid growth of farm production, the political and economic consolidation of the co-operative farms, the systematic improvement in the material and cultural standards of the rural population, the enhancement of their political and labour enthusiasm—all this is a great fruit of the policy of our Party that has fought for the uninterrupted revolution in a socialist countryside.

3. Leadership and Assistance by the Working Class Party and State—Basic Condition for the Final Solution of the Agrarian Question

In order to successfully solve the socialist agrarian question, our Party has held fast to the principle of firmly ensuring the leading role of the working class and constantly strengthening the assistance of the working class to the peasantry.

The active leadership of the peasantry by the advanced working class, the assistance of developed industry to agriculture, all-out support of towns to the countryside—this is the basic condition for the solution of the socialist agrarian question.

It is a historic duty of the working class to help the peasantry forward to communism.

The peasantry can go ahead to communism only under the leadership and with the active support of the working class just as when they took the socialist path through agricultural co-operation.

The worker and the peasant—two amicable classes closely co-operating and helping each other on one and the same socialist economic basis following the triumph of agricultural co-operation—are socialist working people, each fighting on an important front of the building of socialism and communism.

Co-operative ownership and ownership by the whole people are the two forms of socialist ownership that are closely linked with, and rely upon, each other, and they constitute the economic foundations of the socialist state.

Moreover, after the completion of agricultural co-operation, the responsibility for the development of the rural economy and for the livelihood of the peasants was shifted from the individual peasants over to the working class Party and state.

Therefore, the Party and state of the working class must assume full responsibility for the life not only of the factory and office workers but also of the peasants, for the development not only of ownership by the whole people but also of co-operative ownership.

If agriculture, like industry, is to be put on an up-to-date technical basis and if it is to catch up with industry in its development, there must be a powerful support from industry, the leading branch of the national economy.

Agriculture cannot turn out machines and equipment needed for its own productive ends. Moreover, it is a branch of production affected much by elemental forces. So it is difficult to bring agriculture in line with the rapidly developing industry. Because of the specific features of agricultural production itself, it is very difficult to mechanize agriculture in a comprehensive way; it also poses a very difficult and complex problem to organize and plan the production and labour correctly and, in general, to manage agriculture on scientific lines.

Such being the situation, a powerful support of industry is indispensable to bring agriculture up to the level of industry in respect of technical development, management and the form of ownership, and to strengthen and develop agriculture into a modern production branch which advances briskly in a planned way in step with industry.

Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"In order to energetically push ahead with the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside after the completion of socialist co-operation and gradually eliminate the distinctions between town and country, it is necessary to strengthen the guidance and assistance of the Party and the state to the countryside in every way and provide active support of towns to the countryside."

Under socialism, the successful solution of the agrarian question hinges on the leadership of the peasantry by the working class and the support of the state to the countryside.

The Communists, from the first day of socialist construction, should strengthen their guidance and support to the countryside in every way and, on this basis, liquidate the backwardness of the countryside left over from capitalism and reduce the distinctions between town and country step by step. Should rural work be neglected and active assistance not rendered to the peasants, then the discrepancy between town and country will not diminish but may grow ever greater, even if industry becomes ever more powerful.

For the solution of the agrarian question, it is necessary, above all, to decisively reject the outmoded idea of neglecting the countryside and the wrong view of thinking everything will be all right if only industry is developed.

In our country it is very difficult to satisfy the needs for farm produce including food grain since the cultivated area is not only limited but also sterile and natural conditions for agricultural production are unfavourable. And our agriculture with the accent on rice farming is developed in a diversified way and is intensive; and conditions vary with the valley and plot. Accordingly, the support of the working class is more urgently needed in all spheres of production, technique and management.

In view of this, after the completion of agricultural co-operation, our Party has been undeviatingly pursuing the policy of the working class giving assistance to the peasantry on all accounts, of industry helping agriculture in every way and of towns supporting the countryside.

This is an expression of the revolutionary stand stemming from the most correct mass line which aims to lead the working class and peasantry to communist society together, and of a scientifically-substantiated stand which reflects the lawful requirements of the building of socialism and communism. Assistance to the countryside, after all, strengthens the force of the working class itself and its class foundation, is aimed at developing towns and industry, and accelerates the process of remoulding the peasantry into the working class.

Industry must decisively help the countryside when it becomes powerful enough to do so, though this is impossible while it is still weak.

When the foundations of industry were built in our country, this marked a turning-point in giving assistance to the countryside.

In our country which was a backward agrarian state before, the rural districts had to provide a certain amount of funds for industrialization.

But once industrialization was promoted, the solid foundations of an independent industry with heavy industry as the backbone were laid and large, strong contingents of the working class came into being, a switchover was effected, whereby industry came to the aid of agriculture and powerful assistance was rendered to the countryside in all spheres.

We have a powerful industry of our own capable of increasing extensive assistance of the state to agriculture. In 1949 agriculture accounted for 53 per cent of total industrial and agricultural output value. But already in 1960, the figure was reduced to 29 per cent, whereas the proportion of industry rose remarkably, that is, to 71 per cent.

The guidance and assistance to the countryside cannot be limited to any particular sphere but must involve all spheres.

The political and ideological guidance of the peasantry is an indispensable and the first requisite to remoulding the peasantry into the working class and eliminating the class distinctions.

In order to build socialism in a more effective way and attain communism in the future, the peasantry must be remoulded into the working class. To this end, it is necessary to intensify the political and ideological guidance of the peasantry by the working class, thereby equipping them firmly with the revolutionary spirit, Party spirit and fidelity to the class of the working class, and raise their cultural standard.

The Party has always given precedence to the political and ideological guidance of the peasants who have become the socialist working people in order to arm them with the world outlook of the working class and communist views and remould them into the working class.

With the strengthening of the political and ideological guidance in the countryside, the rural bulwark of socialism has been further consolidated; the peasants are fighting consciously to carry through the Party's rural policy.

While constantly strengthening their political and ideological guidance in the countryside, our Party and state are doing everything in their power to give material, technical, cultural and financial assistance to the rural areas.

With the strengthening of the economic might of the country, the material and technical assistance of the state to agriculture has kept increasing from year to year, and has recently assumed all the more colossal proportions.

While rapidly developing industries in the service of agriculture, which produce tractors, lorries, farm-machines and chemical fertilizers, the Party has steadily increased investments in agriculture.

The appropriations for the development of the rural economy and for rural cultural construction accounted for 9.2 per cent of the total state capital investments in the national economy between 1953 and 1958. And the figure rose to 17.2 per cent in the period from 1959 to 1964. The amount of capital investments made in the rural areas during the one single year of 1964 was equivalent to that for six years extending from 1953 to 1958.

Our Party has also consistently increased labour assistance to the rural districts.

It is a general trend that while industry renders material and technical assistance to agriculture the needs of industry for labour force which constantly grows with the development of industry itself are filled mainly by rural labour force.

But the Party and state continue to give increasing labour assistance to the countryside in view of its specific conditions in which farming is done by intensive methods and mechanization is difficult and, even if farm work were

mechanized, it would require a great deal of human labour.

Labour assistance not only makes it possible to cover the acute shortage of rural labour. It also fortifies the rural bulwark of socialism and renders it possible to give more effective assistance to the countryside in all aspects of politics, ideology, technique and culture through the sending of cadres and the nuclear force of the working class straight to the rural districts.

It is an important task to systematically increase the incomes of the peasants and raise the living standards of the workers and peasants evenly, and this task must be solved in the course of giving assistance to the rural districts.

The Party has made every effort to improve the life of the peasants both in the plain areas and the mountain regions evenly, and eliminate the distinctions between town and country in respect of living standards.

While rapidly developing the agricultural productive forces, the Party has systematically lightened the burdens of the peasants and increased their income through reduction or exemption of agricultural tax in kind, raise in the prices of farm produce purchased by the state, cut in the charges for farm machines and irrigation water and in the prices of farm implements, introduction of free medical care for the peasants, etc.

With the growth of the economic might of the country, the Party took important measures to abolish the agricultural tax in kind for good, and undertake at state expenses all the capital construction and even the building of modern houses, various cultural establishments and other non-productive facilities. This is playing a great role in further developing the rural economy, consolidating the co-operative farms and rapidly improving the material and cultural standards of the peasants.

In order to render effective assistance to the countryside, it is necessary to ensure the unified and comprehensive leadership of the Party and state on all fronts of politics, economy and culture.

Proceeding from the specific conditions of our country, the Party has defined the county as the regional unit and the base for giving unified control and guidance to the rural work.

In this connection, Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The county is the base for accelerating the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside, the base for connecting towns and the countryside and bringing the political, economic and cultural support of towns to the countryside."

Only when such base does exist, is it possible to give effective guidance and support to the farm villages located scatteredly and solve the agrarian question successfully. In view of this, the Party has firmly built up the county purposefully so as to raise its role, and constantly improved and strengthened the work in the county.

The role of the county as the political base for socialist construction in the countryside has been enhanced, with the result that the Party's intentions and policies are conveyed to the rural areas without delay and the functionaries of the county go among the peasants to help them in their work and carry out the Party's policies with credit by joining efforts with them. The political and ideological influence of the working class on the peasantry has further increased.

The local industry factories have been firmly built up with the county as the unit. As a result, they have come to serve the rural areas better, commodity supply has been further improved, and the economic ties between town and country have been further strengthened and developed.

The county seat has educational, cultural and public health establishments, and the advanced culture of towns is quickly popularized in the rural areas, and changes are taking place in the look of the countryside and the life of the peasants.

As a result of the enhancement of the role of the county as the base for connecting towns and the countryside in all the political, economic and cultural fields, the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions have made progress and rural construction is forging ahead successfully.

Of late, the Party and state have taken important measures for giving intensified guidance and assistance to the countryside. The county Party committee and other organs at the county level have been built up firmly and rendered possible to give better guidance to the rural areas. Large numbers of leading functionaries have been sent to the provinces to actively help boost agricultural production and improve the life of the peasants. Assistance is extensively organized and given to the countryside in a movement of the state and society as a whole.

Our Party's policy of strengthening the support of the working class and assistance of industry to the countryside on an extensive scale is bearing great fruits in the solution of the agrarian question.

After the triumph of socialism and building of the industrial foundations, the Party and state of the working class must do everything in their power to give all-round assistance to the countryside. And the realities in our country show that this is the right stand and attitude of the working class in relation to the peasantry that has embarked upon the road of socialism, that this is the most correct way to the successful solution of the peasant and agricultural questions.

4. The Improvement of Management of the Co-operative Farms and Development of Co-operative Ownership

Our Party is successfully tackling the question of improving the guidance and management of the socialist rural economy and of gradually bringing co-operative ownership up to the level of ownership by the whole people.

To eliminate the distinctions between industry and agriculture in the level of economic management and in the form of ownership is of great significance for the final solution of the socialist agrarian question.

In order to eliminate these distinctions it is necessary to liquidate the lag of the countryside in technique, culture and ideology, which is at the root of those distinctions, and at the same time, to find a correct solution to the question of economic management and ownership form on the basis of strengthening in every way the support of the towns to the countryside.

The technical, cultural and ideological lag of the countryside is a historical legacy inherited from the old society and this lag must be liquidated, whereas the distinctions in respect of economic management and ownership form can be eliminated on the basis of constantly improving and perfecting the system of economic management and co-operative ownership newly created under the socialist system.

It is a very complex and difficult task correctly to solve the question of guidance and management of the co-operative farms. Our Party, basing itself on the Marxist-Leninist principles and on its own experience, found a clear-cut direction and means to solve this question.

The basic direction in improving the guidance and management of socialist agriculture consists in bringing the method of management in the agricultural co-operative economy closer to the advanced method of management of industrial enterprises.

To do this, it is necessary to run the agricultural co-operative economy by the advanced method of management of industrial enterprises.

Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Intensified technical guidance and increased planning and systematization of all management work—this is the basic direction in improving the management of the agricultural co-operative economy and in eliminating the lag of agriculture behind industry in management."

The personal guidance given by Comrade Kim Il Sung in the village of Chongsan-ri marked an epochal turning-point in improving the guidance and management of socialist agriculture.

The dissemination of the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method which have embodied the traditional revolutionary work method and mass line of our Party in socialist construction has led to the reorganization of the guidance to the rural areas to fit in with the new conditions, characterized by the completion of co-operation in the countryside.

It has become a regular practice for all the leading personnel to go down to the lower units to directly organize and help the work for the farms. Thus the basic question of management of the co-operative farms—improvement in the organization of production and labour, implementation of the socialist principle of distribution, etc.—have been solved smoothly and the guidance of the farms by the Party and the state improved decisively.

Since the guidance in the village of Chongsan-ri, the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside have been stepped up and the material and technical assistance of the state to the countryside increased rapidly. The work in the rural areas expanded in scale and became much more complicated, and the rural economy was confronted with greater tasks.

Under the conditions in which the technical equipment of the co-operative farms was reinforced and production became organized still more, the rural economy could only be run successfully by the advanced method of management of industrial enterprises.

Proceeding from this, in the beginning of 1962, our Party took a step to radically reorganize the previous agricultural guidance system into a new specialized system of guiding and managing the farms by the industrial method.

The establishment of the county co-operative farm management committee meeting the demand of agricultural development in our country further deepened and developed the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method in line with the developing realities of our countryside.

The management committee is a specialized agricultural guidance organ which performs both the function of directly guiding the co-operative farms and the function of directly realizing the material and technical assistance of the state.

The establishment of the county co-operative farm management committee has made it possible to further strengthen the technical guidance of the farms and organize and plan production in accordance with the specific conditions in each locality.

With the guidance and management of the management committee strengthened, democracy has been given full scope in the co-operative farms, the technical revolution in the countryside pushed ahead vigorously and the level of economic management raised on the whole.

In particular the recent introduction of the piece-work system on a sub-workteam basis at all the co-operative farms along with the intensification of the work-team bonus system is of important significance in bringing the level of management of the co-operative farms closer to that of industry and in improving and perfecting the agricultural production relations.

The piece-work system in the sub-workteams has made it possible to elevate the conscious enthusiasm of the co-operative members to the highest degree, induce them to participate as masters in agricultural production and enterprise management, implement the socialist principle of distribution more thoroughly and to conduct all management work

more scientifically.

The strengthening of the guidance by the industrial method and the improvement of management work of the co-operative farms will render it possible to develop and further perfect co-operative ownership.

In the development of co-operative ownership it is important to correctly solve the problem of the relationship between co-operative ownership and ownership by the whole people and of the relationship between industry and agriculture.

Our Party has held fast to the principle of organically linking the two types of ownership in such a way as to strengthen the direct ties between industry and agriculture in production and enhance the leading role of ownership by the whole people over co-operative ownership. This is the correct way to accelerate the process of converting co-operative ownership into ownership by the whole people.

The management committee develops co-operative ownership and, at the same time, organically links co-operative ownership with ownership by the whole people, further strengthens the direct ties between industry and agriculture in production and accelerates the process of gradual transition from co-operative ownership to ownership by the whole people.

Ownership by the whole people has come to further infiltrate co-operative ownership in width and in depth and the political and ideological influence of the working class on the peasantry has been increased. It has been possible for industry to introduce more successfully into agriculture its machine technology, advanced methods of industrial management and cultured practices in production.

As the state enterprises directly serving the rural economy have been reinforced and their role is being raised, the proportion of means of production owned by the state in agricultural production has gradually increased, accounting for nearly 60 per cent in 1964.

As industry develops and the modern material and technical means under ownership by the whole people gradually account for an overwhelming proportion of agricultural production, the process of gradual transition from co-operative ownership to ownership by the whole people will be accelerated.

Without steadily enhancing the leading role of ownership by the whole people over co-operative ownership, it is impossible to bring co-operative ownership closer to ownership by the whole people. On the other hand, it will be also impossible to convert hurriedly co-operative ownership closer to ownership by the whole people in disregard of the actual conditions and possibilities.

Our experience showed that the way to liquidate most smoothly and speedily the lag of the countryside in the form of ownership and in the level of economic management is to organically link the two types of ownership in such a way as to guide and manage the co-operative farms by the industrial method on the basis of the mass line and constantly enhance the leading role of ownership by the whole people over co-operative ownership.

In the past twenty years following the land reform great successes have been achieved in the solution of the agrarian question.

Grain production increased two times as against the pre-liberation period. Other agricultural branches including the stock-breeding have made great strides. The food problem, which was one of the most difficult problems in our country, has been solved in the main. Our peasants, who suffered from poverty and hunger in the past, now come to enjoy the living standard of the former middle peasants or well-to-do middle peasants as a whole. The ideological consciousness and political awakening of the peasants who have become the socialist working people have been further raised, and the communist virtue of helping each other, pulling each other along and of loving the collective is taking shape. The appearance of the countryside has also changed beyond recognition.

All the victories and successes in the solution of the agrarian question are attributable to the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party and the struggle of our people for the implementation of the Party's line and policies.

What does our experience gained in the struggle for the successful solution of the peasant and agricultural questions show?

In order to successfully solve the agrarian question, *Juche* (national identity) must, first of all, be established thoroughly.

The working out of the correct line and policies fitting the actual conditions of our country in every stage of the development of our revolution and their implementation are the most important factor which enabled us to solve the agrarian question successfully. We found a correct direction of solving the socialist agrarian question that came to the fore on the basis of our own successes and experience.

Our experience also shows that in order to successfully solve the agrarian question we should adhere to the stand of continuously carrying the revolution forward and carrying it to the end.

Our Party carried out the land reform thoroughly and made preparations for transition to socialism, holding fast to the stand of uninterrupted revolution. It moved the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions to the fore in the wake of the completion of agricultural co-operation.

By so doing, we kept our countryside alive with revolutionary atmosphere at all times and could lead the masses of the peasants to take an active part in the struggle for revolution and construction.

Our experience shows that powerful guidance and support from the Party and state of the working class are the decisive guarantee for the solution of the agrarian question.

By increasing the leading role of the working class in every way and giving as much assistance as possible to the countryside, we could shore up so backward a countryside as ours to turn it into a socialist countryside as developed as today in a short space of time.

In order to solve the agrarian question successfully, it is essential to carry through the class line and the mass line in close combination.

In each stage of the revolution, the Party made a correct analysis of the balance of force between classes in the rural districts and correspondingly followed a correct class policy. The Party won over all peasants to the side of the revolution with the exception of a handful of class enemies, crushed the resistance of the counter-revolutionaries, and saw to it that the broad masses of the peasants accepted the struggle for the solution of the agrarian question as a struggle of their own.

Under the leadership of the Party our people achieved great successes in the solution of the agrarian question over the past twenty years. But we still have a long way to go and yet more arduous and heavier tasks are lying ahead of us. We have only just embarked upon the struggle for carrying into effect the Theses on the Socialist Agrarian Question in Our Country.

We must further consolidate and develop the successes we have already achieved and launch out vigorously on the struggle for promoting the building of a socialist countryside.

It is most important of all to build up life assiduously and frugally in the countryside. This is a task of prime importance for the further consolidation and development of the rural economy and for the improvement of the livelihood of the rural population at the present time.

We produced and supplied large quantities of machinery and equipment to the rural districts and built there extensive productive facilities and cultural and welfare establishments. All this has cost us precious labour, materials and funds.

We must take good care and make an effective use of the irrigation facilities and warehouses which we have already built, and keep the modern houses in a cultured way.

Along with this, better use should be made of the farm machines, irrigation water should be used economically, the farmlands should be tended with care, the rivers should be well readjusted, all our precious properties such as the roads, bridges, forests, etc., should be looked after well.

For the promotion of the building of a socialist countryside, it is essential to give fully play to the conscious enthusiasm of the peasants themselves who are masters of the countryside.

All functionaries, in conformity with the demands of the Chongsan-ri method of work, must go among the masses of the peasants, improve political work among them, help them in good faith, give full scope to democracy, so that all may unite and take an active part in the carrying out of the revolutionary tasks facing them.

At the same time, it is essential to improve labour administration in the rural areas and put the management work of the co-operative farms on a scientific basis.

We must correctly enforce the piece-work system in the sub-workteams, strictly abide by the socialist principle of distribution and promote the planned and systematized management work of the farms.

The technical revolution in the countryside is the most pressing revolutionary task confronting us in building a socialist countryside. We must introduce widely the advanced agricultural science and technology and, at the same time, pay due regard to the valuable experiences in farming accumulated in the country side through a long period, and popularize them extensively. It is of particular importance to introduce and develop the technique verified in practice and the advanced farming method fitting the actual conditions in each locality.

In order to carry out all these tasks with success, the leading role of the Party committees should be enhanced and the Party guidance of rural work strengthend. In particular, we must strengthen the peasants' ideological education in the spirit of lofty socialist patriotism so that they may love their native villages and fatherland, defend the socialist system and devote all their energies to consolidate and develop it.

We must enhance the role of the organizations of the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of the Socialist Working Youth and the Women's Union and mobilize them for the successful implementation of the tasks of the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions put forward by the Party, closely rallying all the rural working people behind the Party.

Today the entire people are exerting their efforts to assist the countryside in response to the Party's call—to give nation-wide assistance to the rural communities.

The peasants are devoting themselves to carry out the agricultural policies of the Party, standing guard over their revolutionary outpost.

This year we must fulfil the task of producing 500 kgs more grain per hectare and increase agricultural production and improve the livelihood of the peasants by strengthening the assistance to the countryside and enhancing the creative enthusiasm of the peasantry.

We must make strenuous efforts for the solution of the tasks put forth by the Theses and advance step by step towards the final goal.

Greater victories are in store for our people who are marching forward along the path illuminated by the Theses for the solution of the socialist agrarian question under the leadership of the Party.

(*Rodong Sinmun*, March 4, 1966)